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THE NEW REPUBLIC

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The Real "Reserve Mess"

S. L. A. Marshall

Hipsters and Squares

by Robert Brustein

Pre-Franco Politics

Daniel Friedenberg

Liebling on The Press

Christopher Jencks

January 29, 1962, 25 cents

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Have A Glass of Water

★ "Horror, horror, horror!" exclaims Papa GOP angrily, banging his little son's head with a faggot, "here you have outgrown your shoes again!"

"But little GNP-Budget is only a growing child, Everett," pleads the wan mother from the fireplace.

"The American Child must be taught not to grow so fast!" exclaims the irate parent.

"Where's the butcher knife. . . ."

The scene shifts to the Post Office. "Sorry, ma'am, first-class mail is now five cents: the Awful PO deficit you know!" . . . "Oh," says the woman, "well, I think we ought to meet the Awful PO deficit. But couldn't you cut expenses some way?" . . . "Absolutely no, ma'am; it costs an awful lot of money to deliver that Junk Mail you're getting, which causes the Awful PO deficit." . . . "But I don't *want* junk mail!" . . . "Sorry, ma'am. But we have to charge you more first-class postage to meet the Awful PO deficit so we can perform the service of giving you the Junk Mail which you don't like. Next, now, please. . . ."

Now the haberdashers. "The price of this cotton shirt is outrageous!" complains the irate customer. . . . "That's because you are charging yourself an extra amount," says the clerk, calmly. "I am – how?" asks the irate customer. "You are paying US growers 8½ cents a pound more for cotton than it sells on the world market." "I *am* – ? Well, I didn't know that." "Of course you don't; the City Sucker doesn't know anything." "No names, please. Well, I suppose we have to aid the inefficient cotton farmer," says the Customer. "The farmer isn't inefficient – he's one of the most efficient on earth," says the Clerk. "But about 30 percent are inefficient." "Why should I subsidize the whole industry to aid the one-third?" "I don't know," says the Clerk.

"But this shirt is *Japanese-made*! It's an outrage," exclaims the Customer. "Exactly," says the Clerk, cleaning his nails: "we sell our cotton abroad at reduced rates; a lot goes to Japan at 33 cents a pound." "You mean the same cotton would cost US mills 41½ cents a pound – ?" "You're on the beam," yawns the Clerk. "But doesn't that mean trouble for the US industry?" "Of course it does, silly! So now we must subsidize the US textile industry to meet the competition of the subsidized US cotton industry." "I think I'm going nuts!" says the Customer. "That's quite all right," says the Clerk, kindly. "Lots of people feel that way when they understand. Have a glass of water."

Farmer Buttercup

★ Well, here's the final lesson for the afternoon. The City Sucker has thought it all over. He's mad. He's going to find out why a nation with 70 percent urban population doesn't treat consumers better. He's going to school to find out. "Where do you live?" asks the Professor. "Sir, I live in Green Acres, Metropolis." "Oh – ? Well, your vote in your state legislature is worth about half that of your country relative, Farmer Buttercup." "Incredible – I don't believe it. A vote is a vote!" "Of course you don't believe it. If you believed it you would correct it. And if you corrected it then I would have to change my Political Science course: much better leave it the way it is." "Oh well, maybe I half believe it; how do you claim it works?" "Simple: for 50 years people have been romping into the cities, but the farm counties keep just as many votes in the state legislatures as they had at first, or about as many. So the vote of Farmer Buttercup in most states is worth two to 10 times that of Subway Sap; that's why state legislatures generally starve the cities – blood-sucking, you know."

"I can't believe it! You're a radical, I think. And anyway, it doesn't affect Washington. Or . . . does it?" "Have a glass of water, old man! Can you take another shock? Yes? – Well, the Hayseed Slickers in the state legislatures gerrymander the seats for the House of Representatives against you City Suckers. It's figured they give 20 to 30 more seats to the farmers in the House than population entitles them to. That's why the urbanites are always being outvoted; it's one reason the House is more conservative than the Senate. They sure fooled the Founding Fathers."

"Can you *prove* this?" "Hum-m; well, you might note how farm conservatives vote on Kennedy's upcoming proposal for a Department of Urban Affairs." "But I thought the GOP national committee last week at Oklahoma City said the Republicans must win over the big city vote, or perish?" "Sure they did, and they meant it, too. But when were a bunch of politicians any more logical than the rest of the country?"

This week Astronaut John Glenn may orbit the earth and Astronaut General de Gaulle may pilot his craft for one more lap above civil war – we wish them both luck on their hazardous journeys.

This week, too, Commissioner Minow's FCC will put the big television companies on the grill in Washington to see why we aren't getting better programs, and Sen. John Stennis (D, Miss.) will open hearings on charges by Admiral Arleigh Burke and Maj. Gen. Edwin A. Walker, retired, that Pentagon brass is being "muzzled."

Walker and McCarthy

★ As for Minow, he represents the new type of Kennedy appointee to the sleepy regulatory commissions; we don't know of anybody who has roused more enthusiasm with the consumer, and already (though indirectly) he has got the TV industry to improve programs with more news and public service shows.

The main issue in the Stennis hearing is whether saber-rattling generals should be allowed to make inflammatory speeches about Moscow while the State Department is trying to cool things off. It's an emotional issue and there will be the usual cries of softness-toward-Communism, but General Walker is no Joe McCarthy.

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Unrepresentatives

Although the conservative coalition which dominates the House of Representatives may be persuaded to adopt President Kennedy's liberal trade bill this year, and will probably go along with most other Administration measures that "help fight Communism," the domestic side of the New Frontier has already been written off as a lost legislative cause by the more pessimistic Administration strategists. Even the optimists admit that civil rights legislation and federal school aid to the states are unlikely to reach the floor; that the prospects for standby Presidential authority to cut taxes in a recession cannot be rated better than one in five, and that medical care for the aged, an obvious vote-getter, has something less than an even chance of winning the approval of the House.

There are a variety of reasons why Mr. Kennedy may well be 10 to 20 votes short of what Theodore H. White calls a "natural working majority." But the central fact is simply that the House has become more and more unrepresentative as Americans migrate into cities and suburbs and the commercial absentee farmer takes over the countryside. While most Senators stand or fall in the urban complexes which rely on the federal government for welfare programs habitually spurned by state legislatures, the typical Representative answers to rural and small town voters. The makeup of the House reflects the increasing under-representation of urban areas and the disenfranchisement of large numbers of Negro voters.

According to estimates by James Deakin of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and TRB in this issue, farm areas now have 20 to 30 seats that could not stand the test of equitable reapportionment. Twenty-odd votes may seem trivial in a body of 435 members, but 20 extra votes might possibly have passed the school bill in the last session, if it had ever reached the floor, and would probably be enough to assure enactment of a medical care bill in this session. The Rules Committee was enlarged last year by the slender margin of five votes. But reapportionment must be enacted by state legislatures—which are controlled, in turn, by rural voters who have a frank and unremitting suspicion of big city political power.

Sen. Joseph S. Clark (D., Pa.), a proponent of fairer districting, reports that "those who condone inequitable representation sometimes advance the proposition that city people are immoral and incompetent in self-government. The rugged virtues of the American farmer are extolled, the sins of 'minority groups' in the cities

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deplored. . . . Implicit in this view is that urban legislators tend to be small men not given to statesmanship but adept in the arts of political skullduggery." The logical conclusion of this argument, as he points out, is that "the greater the number of rural legislators, the better governed will be the commonwealth. . . . Those of us who have had to deal with state legislatures would hesitate to support so dubious an assertion."

Just how unequal is the situation in the House? The 1960 census gives a clear picture: The United States has its share of rotten boroughs, and something like the British Reform Bill of 1832 is indicated. The redistricting now underway or completed in many states will correct some of the worst inequities but not all of them by any means.

Based on the 1960 population and not counting the District of Columbia, the average size of Congressional districts in a 435-seat House should now be 410,481 persons. Nevertheless, according to the 1960 census, California's Twenty-eighth District (Orange and San Diego counties) had 1,014,460 inhabitants; the Twentieth, 253,360, and both had one Representative in Congress. Florida's Fourth District (Miami) had 982,968 people, while the rural Eighth in the same state, 239,992. The First New York District (bedroom suburbs) ran to 906,187 persons, but the rural Forty-third District, 313,595. Michigan's Twelfth (upper peninsula) District is the smallest in the nation with 177,431, as against the Sixteenth (part of Detroit), 802,994.

8,611 Cows, 4,739 Pigs and Horses

As a result of the 1960 census, 25 states gained or lost seats in the House. Sixteen states will lose a total of 21 seats in the next Congress, and nine states will gain a total of 19 seats, with the difference accounted for by the fact that the House will revert from 437 to 435 seats. By the end of 1961, the legislatures of 17 of these states had passed laws redrawing their Congressional districts. In those which do not redistrict before the filing deadline for the November Congressional elections, House candidates will have to run at large.

For a time, some Democratic strategists had feared that if some key states (particularly New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Minnesota) did not redistrict in time, at-large races might give the Republicans an outside chance to take numerical control of the House. However, the GOP-dominated New York legislature passed a redistricting law in November. Illinois and Pennsylvania have redistricted, and the deadlock in Minnesota appears to have been broken. Stalemates continue in Massachusetts and Michigan, but the prospect is for only a few at-large elections. The redistrictings completed thus far indicate a net gain of two or three seats for the Republicans, not a meaningful change. To take control of the House, officially, the GOP would have to pick up 44 seats, and this hardly appears to be likely.

The New York redistricting law, discussed in these pages on November 27, apparently will eliminate six or seven seats held by Democrats and give the GOP four or five new seats (New York lost two seats in the census). This will be offset in California, which gained eight districts, with Democrats expected to take at least six and possibly all of them. In Michigan, where the Congressional districts vary widely in population to the disadvantage of urban areas, a constitutional convention is underway and a proposal has been made in convention to require equal, compact and contiguous districts. But it is not given much chance.

At the root of the under-representation of urban areas in the House is their plight in the state legislatures. In California, 12 percent of the people has the power to elect a majority of the state senate; in Nevada, 12.5 percent; in Rhode Island, 13.5 percent; in Maryland, 15.5 percent. In Connecticut, 9.5 percent of the population can elect a majority of the state house of representatives; in Vermont, 12.5 percent; in Florida, 17 percent; in Delaware, 19.5 percent; in Kansas, 22.5 percent. Probably the best known (but far from the only) example of big city under-representation is Atlanta. With a 1950 population of 473,572, Atlanta had one state senator. A rural Georgia district with a population of 16,237 also had one state senator. Mayor Ben West of Nashville has described a rural county in his state: It has 8,611 cows, 4,739 pigs and horses, 3,948 people and one state representative. Nashville's county had 381,412 people in 1950 – and seven state representatives, meaning that each representative spoke for 54,487 people, but not, of course, for as many cows, horses and pigs.

Recently this journal has pointed out that on a national basis the average value of a big-city vote was less than half that of a vote in the rural areas. Yet the 1960 census showed that seven out of every 10 Americans live in urban areas. The US is one of the most hghly urbanized nations in the world, with a predominantly rural population in only 11 of the 50 states.

Moreover, the disenfranchisement of large numbers of people in many parts of the South leaves the election of Congressmen year in and year out in the hands of small groups of privileged voters. And this accounts, in turn, for the relatively insignificant turnover in rural Southern representation in the House and Senate. By returning the same men to the House and Senate again and again, the South has made the committee chairmanships almost its private preserve. The chairmanship, with its vast power to suppress, dilute or delay social legislation, including measures to improve the lot of the Negro, is the new "peculiar institution."

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With the death of Speaker Rayburn, the power of Howard W. Smith, Wilbur D. Mills, Oren Harris and John L. McMillan (Rules, Ways and Means, Interstate Commerce and District of Columbia) has waxed, and the President has apparently found the barons increasingly arrogant and hostile.

"A Peculiarly Political Nature"

Groups battling urban under-representation have encountered an expected lack of sympathy from the state legislatures – and a rather surprising indifference in the courts. The Supreme Court has consistently refused to entertain constitutional complaints. In the 1946 case of *Colegrove v. Green*, three Illinois citizens who voted in Congressional districts having much larger populations than other districts in the state sued to restrain state officers from holding an election under the 1901 apportionment law, arguing that elections held under this law denied them rights guaranteed by Article One of the Constitution as well as the Fourteenth Amendment. But the Supreme Court, in a four to three decision, upheld lower court dismissal of the suit. Speaking for the majority, Justice Frankfurter held that what the plaintiffs sought was beyond the competence of the court to grant. "Due regard for the effective working of our government," he said, "revealed this issue to be of a peculiarly political nature and therefore not meet for judicial determination." The majority opinion concluded that Article One, Section Four, gave Congress exclusive authority to secure fair Congressional representation, and that equitable representation was but one of many constitutional injunctions that are not enforceable by the courts.

Citing the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection and due process guarantees, William L. Taylor, writing in the *Southern California Law Review*, questions the 1946 precedent in the *Colegrove* case. "When state action makes the vote of one citizen worth one quarter of the vote of another," he asks, "how does the 'character of the wrong' suffered differ from the case where the vote is denied a Negro on racial grounds? If a right to an undiluted vote exists, should not both actions be deemed a denial of equal protection of the laws?"

Now the Supreme Court is faced with the issue again, in a suit (*Baker v. Carr*) brought by 11 residents of cities in Tennessee who have challenged the apportionment of seats in the state legislature, pointing out that the Tennessee Constitution requires equal districts and reapportionment every 10 years. In Tennessee there has been no reapportionment since 1901, which typifies the national problem. Delaware has not reapportioned its upper house since 1897, Alabama since 1901, Oklahoma, since 1907, and Iowa, 1911. Vermont has not reapportioned either house since 1793.

The Kennedy Administration has entered the Tennessee case with an *amicus curiae* brief filed by Solicitor-General Archibald Cox. It expounds a doctrine which, if accepted by the court, would have wide implications. The gist is that residents of urban areas are under-represented in many state legislatures, that this constitutes a denial of the equal protection guarantee of the Fourteenth Amendment, and that the federal courts may reasonably use any of several methods to force the states to apportion their legislatures more equitably. "There are wrongs which can be righted only by the people or their legislatures," argued the Solicitor-General in his oral argument before the Supreme Court. "But judicial inaction, through excessive caution or a fancied impotence in the face of admitted wrong and crying necessity, might do our system, including the judicial branch, still greater damage."

When the case was argued last year, Justice Frankfurter made it clear that his attitude had not changed. "The mere fact that there's a rotten situation," he declared at one point, "doesn't meant a court should act." In the absence of judicial redress, Senator Clark has proposed a Constitutional amendment to assure equitable representation in state legislatures. As a practical matter, however, no solution on a nationwide scale seems even a remote political possibility. In Constitutional terms the mandate of the Executive is unclear. Redress may consequently have to come in the diffuse local action of aroused citizens in hundreds of under-represented urban and suburban communities. And how are they to be aroused? Once again, one is reminded of the President's great and still lightly tapped power to educate. In explaining to the voters why so much of his program is obstructed, he has every reason to trace the character of the House in Washington back to intransigent legislatures in the state capitals.

Nasser Out of Step

Until and through summer 1961, President Gamal Abdel Nasser's main source of strength was his sensitivity to the popular mood. This had captured him an immense following not merely in Egypt but in Arab states whose governments he had antagonized, such as Iraq and Jordan. Today, he has lost this, not merely outside but inside Egypt.

He had won personal leadership of the Arab world in 1955, the year in which he bought arms and capital goods from the Soviet Union as well as from the West. He lost it, internationally speaking, last September when the Syrians snubbed him by contracting out of the United Arab Republic, and when most of the Arab states hastened to recognize Syrian independence. But this setback was not the cause of his loss of popu-

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larity inside Egypt – financing Syria during three unlucky years of drought had cost more than Egypt could afford, and most Egyptians were as glad as the Syrians to cut adrift. The chief cause of the uneasiness that now permeates Egypt is the speed at which Nasser is trying to socialize the economy. Measure follows measure long before the last is digested or working. Regardless of the failures that put the Syrians out of love with union, death is being dealt to businesses built up over generations by the middle classes. The methods employed are producing an employment crisis at all levels. Cairo industrialists, lawyers and even chartered accountants are being obliged to close down their firms and to earn far less, if they will agree to do so, as government servants, performing their old duties. The immediate result is a burden on the central authority that it cannot carry, and, naturally, a reappearance of the graft that the military *junta* had hoped, by its praiseworthy example, to dispel.

Lower down in the scale of earnings, adjustment to the drastic reduction of upper-class incomes has created a mass of urban unemployment; domestic servants, small shopkeepers and the employees of the many small industries that service the householder are on the streets. Adding to the general discontent is an impending reduction in earnings from Egypt's staple export – cotton. The worm that attacked the current year's crop has reduced production in the 1961-62 season to two-thirds of the 1960-61 figure. Worm also attacked the vegetable crop and here produced a shortage that is being felt already.

Consumer goods from abroad are in short supply because the new industrialization program has absorbed foreign exchange to an undue degree. Reserves of foreign exchange seem to have fallen to about $20 million, and there is a chance that Egypt will have either to postpone improvements to the Suez Canal (which brings in about $100 million gross of foreign exchange a year), or else to default on some of its foreign loans. Confidence is at a low ebb and attempts to rekindle it by sequestrating the property of the foreign minorities, arresting French diplomats, and promising to "stifle within two months the reactionary regimes of Jordan, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen" are not producing the intended result. Every educated Egyptian knows that Egypt gets along best by attracting foreign investment, and by maintaining good relations with its Arab neighbors.

This situation confronts Washington with a dilemma. The US has allocated about $115 million for aid to Egypt in 1961-62 under technical assistance, loans, and sales, largely of food, under Public Law 480. Are we to comply with requests that this aid be stepped up if, without it, the Nasser regime seems likely to fail? When Nasser was his old self, the answer given was that help to him was worth our while, both because he is anti-Communist, even though he deals with Russia, and because Egypt is the hub of the Middle East and its stability the lynch pin of stability in the area. But the problem takes on a new complexion if Nasser is vilifying his neighbors. What he does inside Egypt may be his own affair, but helping him to create disequilibrium outside it is something else. He will no longer be indispensable, even to Egyptians, if as seems possible, antagonism to him develops in the army also. There is at least one officer in its ranks, Vice Premier Abdel Latif Boghdady, who commands enough support to take over, though up till lately there has been no incentive for anyone to make the attempt.

China and Brazil

The Brazilian Communist Party, with half a million members, is the third largest outside the Communist bloc; and like its European counterparts, it was rocked by the last Moscow Party Congress. But while Signore Togliatti of Italy (whose problems are discussed by Leo Wollemborg on page 10) is attacked from the Right by Communist "young turks" who want to push de-Stalinization further, Brazil's Carlos Prestes, on the other hand, is under attack from his Party's Left.

Within the past few weeks, the most prominent rebels, Joao Amazonas, Guido Enes, Mauricio Gribois and Manuel Ferreira were expelled from the Party for "neo-Trotskyism" – that is, revolution "everywhere and now." Yet this is by no means an unconditional victory for Khrushchevism in Brazil. As elsewhere in the underdeveloped world, many of the Brazilian Communist rank-and-file feel closer to the Chinese revolution and leaders than to the Soviets. They see themselves as have-nots, and they suspect the Russians, with their talk of "peaceful coexistence," of becoming haves. The expelled members had even objected to the name "Brazilian Communist Party" and demanded the more international-sounding "Communist Party of Brazil." They have little patience with "thaws" in the relatively prosperous Communist societies in Europe, nor for the near Titoism of those who, like some Italian Communists, talk about "polycentrism" (collaboration between different parties instead of subordination to Moscow).

In the last few years the Chinese have trained thousands of Spanish and Portuguese-speaking agents who have traveled all over Latin America. Chinese colonies in most Latin American countries have been skillfully exploited. One visible result is that Communist newspapers in Santiago, Rio, and Havana now use Chinese as well as Russian material. No Latin American party went so far as to support the Chinese against the Russians at the last Party Congress, for most Latin Ameri-

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can Communists (including Prestes, a one-time close friend of Stalin) have personal ties with the Russians and depend on Moscow for technical assistance and funds for the Party. But whether Moscow can retain effective, as against nominal, control of Latin American parties in the years ahead has become questionable.

Project English

Back in 1958 at the time of the first Sputniks, most public schools were equally deficient in both the sciences and the humanities. An antiquated science and math curriculum discouraged all but the most dedicated or perverse scientists from teaching in secondary schools, and an equally ossified program in English and foreign languages was producing high school graduates who could neither speak nor write their own language, much less any other.

Congress responded by passing a National Defense Education Act which provided money for the revision of language, science and mathematics curriculums; the development of new textbooks and construction of new laboratories; and perhaps most important, the training, or in many cases the retraining, of teachers in these fields. Nothing was done about English, however, since mere literacy seemed unlikely to get any rockets in the air, or even "win uncommitted nations."

Under the auspices of Kennedy-appointed Commissioner of Education Sterling McMurrin, the Office of Education is now trying to do for the teaching of English what it started to do four years ago for science and foreign languages. "Project English," as the scheme is called, will establish three "curriculum study centers" to reexamine the teaching of reading, grammar, literature, and composition in secondary schools. If Congress approves, the project will also establish training centers to get teachers to use the new methods.

Eventually Project English may have to do even more than this. Whereas the biggest problem in teaching science and languages is to find more scientists and linguists, literate English teachers are not in very short supply. The principal trouble is that they haven't time to do their job. To learn composition properly, for example, pupils must write, write, write. Not only that, but somebody must read what they write, making careful corrections and comments. A typical high school teacher with five classes of 35 pupils hasn't time to read a paper from every pupil every week. So he requires a paper every other week, which isn't enough.

There are at least three possible remedies for this literary inactivity. A teacher's classes can be cut down to 20. He can get "lay readers" to help cope with the mass of papers. Or teachers of other subjects, presumably social studies, can share responsibility for composition with the teacher of literature. (The last possibility is probably the most promising. If social studies teachers assumed a major responsibility for composition, pupils might get the feeling that writing well matters all the time, not just in English "themes.")

Project English could also be the vehicle for the "massive assault on illiteracy" mentioned by Mr. Kennedy in his State of the Union address. Although accurate statistics are difficult to obtain, there is some reason to believe that the proportion of illiterates is now higher in the United States than in many European countries and perhaps even higher than in Russia. The explanation of this lag may be, as some critics charge, the substitution of the modern "look and say" systems for the traditional "phonetic" method of teaching. But perhaps the explanation is simply the automatic promotion policies of most elementary schools, in which administrators assume that a child who can't read is emotionally disturbed and "should have his self-confidence bolstered "by going on" to other subjects. Apparently the poor child's inability to read the books in which these subjects are explained is not expected to undermine his self-confidence as much as being separated from his more gifted classmates.

More than money, reform requires leadership. If the US Office of Education can provide such leadership, the modest sums now being spent for Project English – the current budget is only six figures – may do as much for many pupils as the comparatively large sums Mr. Kennedy has asked for higher teacher salaries and more classrooms. Increasing the proportion of our GNP invested in education, as Mr. Kennedy wants, is certainly important. But investing available funds where they are most needed may be equally important. It is certainly more practical, given the penurious mood of Congress.

McCone's Confirmation

It was unfortunate in the first place that the disposition of John A. McCone's nomination as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency should have been entrusted to the Armed Services Committee of the Senate. Although a strong case can be made for routing the nomination of a CIA Director to the Foreign Relations Committee, no one made it, and the McCone matter was given to a notably friendly Committee on the strength of the unimpressive argument that the Act setting up CIA in 1947 had gone through Armed Services. But what made the stench surrounding McCone's confirmation on January 22 particularly strong was the Committee's peremptory dismissal of the many questions which have been raised concerning the nominee's qualifications. Slightly less than a total of four hours

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was devoted to consideration of what may prove to be the most ill-advised appointment of the Kennedy Administration.

Sen. Eugene J. McCarthy, who appeared in opposition to McCone's affirmation, cites the Committee's obvious haste and bias as an example of the "degeneration" of the confirmation process. "It has almost reached the point where the process means nothing at all and the Senate might as well fold up. If you can't be charged with stealing, and you have a medical and an FBI clearance, you just sail through."

The obvious first step in a conscientious discharge of the Committee's responsibility would have been a careful study of Mr. McCone's large stock holdings in Standard Oil of California (which together with Standard of New Jersey controls the Arabian-American Oil Co.). Whatever its conclusion on the conflict of interest issue, however, the Committee would still have had to deal with the larger question of his professional and temperamental suitability for the CIA post. Senator McCarthy focused his own testimony on McCone's efforts (reported in this journal on October 16, 1961) to get 10 professors at the California Institute of Technology fired for signing an endorsement of Adlai Stevenson's position on nuclear testing during the 1956 campaign. If investigation should show that McCone did in fact press for their dismissal, said McCarthy, then he is not the man for the job. For the Director of CIA "should be restrained and detached . . . more interested in finding evidence and passing judgment on it than in attempting to polarize opinions or in supporting a set position."

In response to questioning by Senators Symington and Russell, Mr. McCone said only that he did not make an "official" request to the Board of Trustees "to take any action on discharging any of these men." At the same time, he lent substance to the belief that he had exerted pressure through informal, oral representation when he said that "I would be less than frank . . . if I did not say that there were a few people who knew I was quite annoyed and disturbed at the position that had been taken by them." And yet the Committee, without further investigation, passed on to a vote. Senator Symington made a derisive reference in passing to "a lot of chatter and talk we have heard . . . today about academic freedom."

The President has gone out of his way to affront critics of the McCone appointment by disregarding suggestions that the evaluation of intelligence be split off from collection and reaffirming in a memorandum sent to the new CIA Director on January 16 his responsibility for carrying out the evaluation function. Given the determined stand of the White House, it may not be surprising that Senator McCarthy's has been a lonely dissenting voice, but it is nonetheless distressing.

Smith for Allen

The new year in television brings the end of the hour-long series starring the often literate comedian, Steve Allen. As in almost all such cancellations, the show was a casualty of program rating. A recently released survey showed that Allen was numbered among the unenviable 10 with the fewest viewers. The 10 also included four public affairs programs. Because of ABC's unilateral decision, each of its approximately 100 affiliated stations which carried the series, and which under law, but not in practice, are solely responsible for the programs they transmit, have lost any option to have Allen continue on the air.

The minor loss engendered by the cancellation will be more than offset, however, if it serves to focus attention on the total ABC schedule – constituting one-third of the available TV prime-time for the bulk of the nation. The seriousness of the situation was pointed up the end of last year in an unprecedented breach of industry etiquette, when NBC Board Chairman Robert Sarnoff laid the blame for the low quality of much of the programming carried by his own and the CBS network on the necessity for them to compete with ABC, which has been aptly described as "a film projector in search of a network." In three years, ABC had risen from an "also-ran" in the three-chain race, to the status of an equal, simply by riding herd on Western (and later also mystery) show trends. Thus, when ABC decides that it will offer a solid block of Western and crime series on Sundays (*Maverick; Follow the Sun; Lawman; Bus Stop* and *Adventures in Paradise*), not only are the 100 or so individually licensed stations which are affiliated with it almost all forced to carry this block, but the other two chains may also be tempted to drop opposing low-rated, but quality offerings.

Steve Allen's departure makes it timely to revive a suggestion made in these pages last summer: The FCC, if it chose, could bring about sweeping improvement in network programming either by revoking or threatening to revoke just one affiliated station's license specifically for the imbalance in its network offerings. And might not a possibility be the ABC-owned, as well as affiliated Los Angeles or Detroit outlets? Such action would make a "regular," VHF channel available for educational TV in our third or fifth largest cities.

None of this criticism of ABC, by the way, is made any less valid by the fact that half of Allen's old time will be filled, beginning February 14, by Howard K. Smith in his most welcome return to network television. There certainly should be room in any chain's prime-time schedule for both an hour of quality, live comedy, and a half-hour of intelligent news analysis. Also, the credit belongs not so much to ABC, but to Nationwide Insurance, which will be sponsoring Smith.

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The Second Thaw

London

A second and more radical intellectual thaw seems to be under way in the Soviet Union. All recent visitors report that the Soviet intelligentsia has acquired a new courage and an insatiable curiosity reflected in dozens of daring new novels and poems, both official and clandestine; there are similar stirrings among composers and painters, in the universities and other institutions of higher learning in Moscow and the provinces. Among the first to benefit from this new ferment strangely enough are the social scientists who have got official sanction to establish sociological faculties and research centers.

But it is the writers and poets who have the greatest impact on public opinion; after decades of total suppression some of the more daring spirits have taken the lead in a new quest toward more freedom. These men and women continue the tradition of the radical intelligentsia in Tsarist Russia – inasmuch as the censorship permits it. As in Tsarist Russia there are two parties among them. The "conservative" elements contain most of the literary functionaries; the younger writers, as well as almost all the talent there is among their elders, belong to the "radical" camp. The "conservative" writers' speeches at the recent Party Congress were the work of five eggheads – three hard-boiled, one soft-boiled and one addled (Sholokhov) as one irreverent observer put it. Kochetov, the main spokesman of the Stalinist group and editor of the monthly *Oktyabr* lit into "morose composers of memoirs, who burrow in the rubbish dumps of their rather crackpot memories" (Ilya Ehrenberg). They have put down Yevtushenko (author of the poem, "Babi Yar," discussed in these pages a few weeks ago by William Korey) as "a chicken sparsely sprinkled with yellow fluff, desperately eager to appear as a fighting cock."

But what is new is the willingness of the "radicals" to counterattack. *Literaturnaya Gazetta* (together with *Novy Mir* and *Yunast* the main bulwark of the "radicals") has now attacked Kochetov for being out of step with the current campaign of de-Stalinization. Such polemics were unthinkable in the recent past and they automatically assume an importance far beyond what may otherwise appear as a petty quarrel between feuding cliques of literateurs. Party and government authorities have chosen not to interfere so far.

The Stalinists appear to be fighting a losing battle. Their own magazines have steadily decreased in interest and have even been infected to some extent by the liberal bacillus. Of the seven full-sized novels announced by *Oktyabr* for publication in 1962 only two deal with what could be defined as a domestic Soviet subject – all the rest take place outside Russia, or, at any rate, bring in a great number of foreign characters – an infallible sign of the current inclinations of both Soviet writers and the reading public.

This ferment is strongest in the post-Stalin generation students, or those who have just finished their studies, for whom the Stalinist terror is a mere historical reminiscence and who are far less afraid than their elders to speak their mind. The favorite author of this generation is Salinger, and his gifted Russian disciple Vassili Aksenov whose *Ticket to the Stars* was the most talked about book in the Soviet Union in 1961. Its heroes are three boys and a girl who have just finished secondary school; they are all very hard-headed, skeptical, anti-ideological, ready to question the official slogans and to reject hypocrisy. Aksenov has been criticized both for his "vulgar language" and the contents of the novel, but he has also found enthusiastic defenders.

Another typical product of the new spirit is a film, *The Man from Nowhere*, a clever satire, which, had it been produced in Hollywood would probably be called *The Abominable Snowman Comes to Moscow*. It describes the visit to Moscow of a cannibal from the Himalayas accompanied by a Soviet anthropologist. The snowman realizes to his great surprise that a somewhat more refined cannibalism has spread from his native land to the Soviet capital and can be found among outwardly very civilized scientists, actors, and sportsmen.

The viewer of the film gains the impression (as one Soviet critic put it) that "good people are hopelessly alone in our society." That such a film could be produced and shown is surely significant; it may be a first sign of a renewal of satire in Russia. These examples date back to before the recent Party Congress; there is much reason to assume that those that will follow will be even more outspoken.

After so many years of total control and doctrinaire aridity in literature and the social sciences, after a period in which Soviet painting and films virtually ceased to exist, we are apparently on the eve of a creative upsurge which may startle the West. One

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need only remember Poland in 1956 and the impulse given by the Polish October to literature and the arts, to philosophy and the movies. From the Soviet authorities' point of view this half-way-house censorship involves enormous difficulties and they may want to strengthen controls again; we may ultimately have two Russian literatures, if present trends continue: One written for publication, and the other privately circulated. This too has happened before in Russia.

The question most difficult to answer concerns the political effect of these new trends. Alexander Herzen commenting on a very similar subterranean ferment in the first half of the 19th Century wrote that "a tremendous amount of work is done there, without any noise and without interruption. The thirst for knowledge grows and affects whole new generations, the influence of literature grows too and reaches much further than ever before. And yet, it simply did not reach the people, which remained apathetic, aloof from politics." There is a danger of a widening of the rift between the intelligentsia and the people. But Herzen wrote about ignorant, illiterate masses, whereas the Soviet leadership has taught many millions to read Lenin, Stalin and technical textbooks. They are able to read other books as well; which is what Hegel called the "cunning of reason."

SPENCER GORDON

ANOTHER ATTEMPT TO FORCE AN "OPENING TO THE LEFT"

Isolating the Communists

Rome

At the most critical junctures, the worst enemy of the Italian Communist Party, the largest in a non-Communist country, has been Moscow, and its best allies have come from Italian anti-Communist forces. On the eve of the crucial 1948 election, the Soviet takeover in Czechoslovakia frightened many Italian voters into supporting the Christian-Democrats. By failing, however, to carry out quickly their own pledges of social and economic reform, the victorious center parties allowed conservative opposition to re-form, to crystalize; and they gave the stunned Communists time to reorganize and to capitalize on the rising expectations of large numbers of Italian voters. In the 1953 elections, the Communists and their leftwing Socialist allies increased their share of the vote from 31 to 35 percent. The government coalition lost ground both to the left and to the right, polling a bare majority, compared with 62 percent in 1948.

In 1956, the first wave of de-Stalinization and the savage Soviet repression in Hungary dealt another psychological blow to the Italian Communists. They found themselves exposed, for the first time, to the threat of political isolation as the leftwing Socialists, under the leadership of Pietro Nenni, severed the old unity of action pact between the two parties, condemned the Soviet intervention in Hungary and opened negotiations for a merger with the pro-Western Social Democrats. But, again, the pressure from the conservative groups within the government (the Liberal Party and the right-of-center Christian-Democrats) continued to block any large-scale social and economic reforms. This, in turn, discouraged those Nenni Socialists who might have been willing to move farther away from the Communists and to support a government pledged to a truly progressive-minded domestic program. The pro-Communist wing of the Nenni Socialist Party was correspondingly strengthened.

In elections held since 1958, the center parties have slightly increased their over-all vote, but those fractional gains have been made exclusively at the expense of the rightist parties. The Communists, pursuing their slow but steady advance, have been polling close to 25 percent of the votes and the Nenni Socialists almost 15 percent.

Since last October, however, fresh shocks from Moscow have again jolted the Italian Communist Party. Even wily Palmiro Togliatti, for 30 years the unchallenged leader of Italian Communism, appears to have lost his grip. On one hand, prominent members of the Stalinist Old Guard resented the removal of Stalin's body from the shrine in the Kremlin. On the other, several of Togliatti's lieutenants (the so-called "Young Turks") criticized the failure to give at least some advance notice of the far-reaching changes in the party line revealed by the 22nd Party Congress; they wondered publicly about the underlying causes of the "crimes and mistakes" now attributed to Stalin and about "the guarantees against such things happening

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again"; they said that the party had lost "the mythical trust" with which it used to accept any word from the top and was now "demanding explanations and facts"; they spoke of the "uneasiness" of the rank and file "who now realize suddenly that there is no longer complete unity within the international Communist movement but have not been told about the different positions and the causes of the dissension."

The weekly magazine of the Communist Youth Organization, "speaking on behalf of a new generation which has not lived through the Stalin era," went so far as to call for "a critical revision of the whole Soviet history, all the way back to the early days of the 1917 revolution." On November 21, *Pravda* talked back, calling to task those "honest people abroad who . . . think that Stalin's mistakes . . . may have been sufficient to modify the foundations of the Soviet social and economic system . . . and to jeopardize the democratic nature of the Socialist system." The warning took on a more pointed meaning when a few days later the French Communists charged that their Italian brethren had gone too far in stressing "polycentrism," that is to say the view that Communism can have many centers, not just Moscow.

As a result, early in December, the leadership of the Italian Party officially branded the positions taken by the Youth Organization's weekly as "anti-Soviet and therefore contrary tc the traditions and tenets of our party" and "similar to the views propounded by Social Democratic leader Giuseppe Saragat and by Nenni himself" (the latter had just stressed that "the Stalinist degeneration and crimes are rooted in the hegemony and monolithic nature of the Soviet Communist Party"). The latest meeting of the Communist Central Committee, held just before Christmas, rejected all demands for an extraordinary Party Congress and endorsed Togliatti's drive to curb the Party debate.

Moscow's intervention and Togliatti's own efforts have mended the cracks. By the same token, the Party has been shaken. Party membership has fallen off to less than 1.8 million (a drop of over 10 percent). The further downgrading of Stalin and the growing evidence of deep rifts within the international Communist movement are likely to sharpen the disenchantment of the many Red voters who have been wondering for some time whether the Party can, or even really wants, to deliver on its domestic promises.

So far, those voters have been kept in the Communist column by the lack of an attractive alternative. Today, the democratic forces are in a position to come forth with just such an alternative.

Speaking for the majority of his Socialist Party, Nenni has recently reaffirmed, more explicitly than ever before, his readiness to give parliamentary support to a progressive-minded government, without making an issue of Italy's membership in the Atlantic Alliance. This projected left-of-center government would be controlled by the pro-Western Christian-Democratic, Social Democratic and Republican parties; but the Socialist votes in Parliament would enable the government to overcome conservative opposition to major economic and social reforms and thus to win the trust of large segments of the leftist electorate. These measures would include a thorough revamping of the country's tax and school systems, a modern approach to the problems of agriculture and local self-government, the curbing of monopolistic practices and the establishment of public controls and regulatory agencies in fields of power, trade and labor relations.

The next few weeks will tell whether this time the democratic forces will rise to the occasion and choose the approach which alone holds out promise of striking at the roots of Communist power and influence in Italy and promoting a decisive consolidation of the young Italian democracy.

Collaboration with the Nenni Socialists will be the main question before the National Congress of the ruling Christian-Democratic Party, which meets on January 27. Conservative Catholics will oppose any deal with Nenni on the ground that it would be bound to have a negative impact upon Italy's foreign policy and upon the "ideological tenets" of Christian-Democracy. But Christian-Democratic secretary Aldo Moro and Premier Amintore Fanfani feel that a cautious experiment of collaboration with the Nenni Socialists would not endanger the country's democratic institutions and foreign alliances and would encourage the Socialists themselves to cut all remaining ties with the Communists.

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To Lay the Ghost

The President's State of the Union message was yet another demonstration that Mr. Kennedy talks a good fight. The program he advocated is liberal, but far short of radical, yet the prevalent opinion seems to be that he will get little of it through Congress. This cannot be explained except on the theory that the forecasters believe that he is the kind of man who takes it out in talk, that when the critical moment comes he cannot or will not turn on the heat.

Yet it may be plausibly argued that on at least one of the issues he has raised Mr. Kennedy is obliged to fight, because he has been backed into a corner, not by his avowed enemies, but by his presumed friends. This issue is the school program.

Mr. Kennedy very nearly lost the Presidency on the religious issue. Most competent observers have been agreed on that since the returns came in and their opinion is supported by Mr. Kennedy's popularity rating in the public-opinion polls. It is fabulously high, which means that it must have been fairly high before he became President; yet he was almost beaten by the candidate who was probably the weakest the Republicans could have nominated. There is nothing in sight to account for this, so it is reasonable to suppose that it must have been the hidden issue that nobody was willing to bring into the light, namely, religion.

The reason nobody cared to acknowledge this issue is that it was accepted by so many bigots. The only quasi-respectable argument in its support was the prediction that the Catholic hierarchy would strive to use a Catholic President to establish church control over political policies. But the election returns showed that a majority – a bare majority – of the voters dismissed this prediction as having no foundation in fact.

Then when the education bill came up in the last session of Congress the hierarchy proceeded to give it a foundation in fact. Most unwisely, they made public proclamation that parochial schools had to be included or the bill would be beaten. They were not included, and the bill was beaten.

It may be true that renegade Democrats did more than clerical influence to effect its defeat, but in politics fact often yields to appearance in directing the trend of events; and this appears to be a case of successful clerical intervention in political affairs in the Administration of a Catholic President – precisely what the Ku Klux told us would happen.

This is the dead albatross that the hierarchy has hung around Kennedy's neck. Unless he contrives to get rid of it, the religious issue, that optimists had thought permanently buried by the election of 1960, will rise again, more vicious than ever. The obvious way to kill it is to fight the school bill through Congress exactly as he proposed it – with no tax money going to the support of any private school.

It may well be that the combination of Republicans and renegade Democrats – most of them Protestants, by the way – is too strong. But a furious fight by the President would eliminate the suspicion that he is subservient to religious authority in secular affairs.

However, since the whole affair is in the realm of appearances, the fight must be apparent, indeed, spectacular. No quiet, behind-the-scenes exertion of influence will be of much help to Kennedy in this instance. He might be well advised to take a tip from Theodore Roosevelt, that master of public tantrums to combat popular superstitions, and stage a tantrum himself. In any event, he must do something, for the fate of the school bill may be of decisive effect in 1964; and if Kennedy is repudiated then, the chance that either major party will risk a Catholic candidate will be remote for the rest of this century.

So in staging a gaudy and noisy battle this year he would be fighting for more than his own survival. He would be striving to re-inter the religious issue, this time for good. A demonstration that an honest Catholic, having sworn to defend the Constitution, will defend it, even against the bishops, would strip the bigots of their last shred of intellectual respectability and would relieve other Catholics who may enter public life of any imputation of second-class status.

For that matter, it would be of no small assistance to Protestants, as well; for it would be a sharp reminder to Americans of all creeds that the things to look for in a candidate are honesty and ability, since the affairs of the country are safe in the hands of an honest and able man, regardless of the rite by which he worships. And they are not safe in the hands of any other type even though, like Lars Porsena, he swears by no less than nine gods.

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The Real Reserve Mess

by S. L. A. Marshall

Between the call-up of Reserve forces in October, and the appearance of Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara before the Congress January 19 to defend, among other things, the conclusions he had drawn from the mobilization, what happened within the Army would baffle the angels.

When, in the first flush of alarm over the resurgent Berlin threat last spring, the new Kennedy Administration loosened the defense purse strings, the Army asked that its strength be increased to 16 divisions. That request was directly opposed by Mr. McNamara, who instead favored forming some smaller increments and a raincheck on the total authorized strength.

As the weather warmed, so did the Berlin headlines, and the government sweated more. Late spring brought a White House decision to form and fill six regular divisions, send them to Europe, and replace them in the United States with six federalized Guard divisions. This ambitious design was still firm when Dean Acheson went abroad to consult NATO. Before his return the White House had second thoughts and a watered-down plan was substituted, mobilizing two National Guard divisions and some Reserve elements, a total of about 156,000 citizen soldiers.

Concurrent with the call-up, the 1st and 2nd Infantry and 2nd Armored Training Divisions (about 3,000-man strength) were converted into war-strength combat divisions, by filling them with fresh trainees and recalled reservists. By early October, each had about 14,500 men. Then began the eight-week cycle to see if they could be made battle-ready through intensified combat training over that brief period. By mid-December, when they had completed their Intensive Combat Training Period (ICTP), the inspectors rated them qualified, and the Army was delighted with this first proof that the speedup was possible.

No citizen Army was ever launched on a more significant experiment. Through the past four years, at a cost of many millions, the National Guard has recruited only men who enlisted for the six-month training camp, there to take the same basic and specialist courses given regulars. Guard standards had gone much higher. The main question in the mobilization was whether Guard readiness had been decisively improved.

On the whole the citizen soldier proved himself a capable replacement for the regular. At Camp Chaffee, Arkansas, for instance, the 100th Training Division, formed of superior reservists from Kentucky, buckled to the task of shaping field soldiers out of raw manpower, which has always been a regular's specialty.

But the 100th's very real achievement went unnoted because its soldiers didn't gripe. Right from the start, the military stakes were obscured by the complaints of a few malcontents among the called-up men and the caterwauling of one Congressman, O'Konski of Wisconsin. The press did its best to dignify this show by giving it unlimited space. Nonetheless, the great majority of called-up men did their duty manfully. On December 10 at Fort Monroe, General Herbert Powell, head of the Continental Army Command which directs all training said: "These are the best we've ever had. There is good reason to hope that by the end of their ICTP they'll be up to the regular Army divisions. But we won't know until February."

Then suddenly, despite a similar report from the Army Inspector-General dispatched to Camp Lewis, Washington, Deputy Secretary of Defense Gilpatric glowered. The new party line: the Reserve forces are disappointing; the call-up may have been a blunder; larger regular forces are needed if the nation is to cope with the recurrent crises of the cold war. As Gilpatric spoke, the Guard divisions were barely started with the ICTP. There is no reconciling the two opinions, one from General Powell, the most competent trainer in the Army, the other from Secretary Gilpatric, a bureaucrat who has never soldiered a day. And it was Gilpatric's sour view which ultimately prevailed.

As January opened, the President met with his "chief military advisers" in Palm Beach. With Secretary Elvis Stahr and the Chief of Staff, General George Decker, conspicuously absent, the decision was taken to increase the regular Army to 16 combat-ready divisions, while chopping eight or so from the reserve structure. But why decide the fate of the Reserves in January when their military worth will not be known until they finish ICTP in February? The answer may be that military considerations – the considerations which Secretary Stahr and General Decker might have raised at the January meeting – have become irrelevant. Only

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BRIG.-GEN. S. L. A. MARSHALL *is military analyst of the* Detroit News *and was chief historian of the European Theater of Operations in World War II. His new book,* Nightdrop, *will appear next month.*

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the upcoming '62 elections seem to explain the decision.

Whether the Congress is awake to the dangers of Mr. McNamara's new policy remains to be seen. The national press has been predicting that he would be given a hard go. But the complaints stress his exercise of arbitrary authority, disregard of military advice on strictly military problems, lack of deference to the chain-of-command principle, oversimplifying of things by nature complex, and so forth. And these characteristics of a driving personality will not agitate Capitol Hill. No past Secretary except George C. Marshall escaped similar criticism by the military staff. The Secretary of Defense must rub the professionals the wrong way much of the time if he is to push constructive reform. Mr. McNamara was not put there to win a Pentagon popularity contest. That he is less loved by the military than the late C. E. Wilson, while remarkable, is immaterial. Major changes are not worked without someone getting hurt. The Secretary has a merited reputation for moving more swiftly than any of his predecessors and is the most vigorous advocate of a strengthened defense in Washington today.

If the $1 billion or so spent annually to maintain all Army Reserve forces is really an increasingly dubious investment, the proposed changes would be proof only of Mr. McNamara's high courage. Between the National Guard lobby and those members of the Congress who also wear military hats, the position of the Reserves is more powerfully entrenched than any camp in Washington. But the Secretary does not appear to be taking on this lobby, or overriding the Army professionals for reasons of economy.

The real issue which Congress ought to face if McNamara will not, is, as Lieutenant General Lewis B. Hershey said in a recent speech in Indianapolis, that we have too few militarily trained and ready people in all forces, and that larger numbers are needed as insurance against defeat and death. Ever since the Korean War there has been a steady shrinkage of the national military training base. Numerous colleges have discontinued ROTC. Higher force goals for civilian components, called imperative by the Eisenhower Administration and approved by the Congress, have been cut by more than half. By now it is almost forgotten that they were set.

Fallout shelters are no substitute for a militarily trained and responsive citizen Army deployed over the nation. The size of such an Army, more than all else, would determine the measure of national resistance and recovery in an unlimited emergency. Defense, for so far as we may see into the future, demands forces that are available virtually everywhere at any time. This means not only an adequate, ready manpower, but arms and equipment sufficient to their needs.

Mobilization supplied proof that manpower and material shortages are alike grievous. Military stockpiles, depleted over the years by foreign military aid and inadequate Army appropriations, were strained to the breaking point last summer by the decision to stockpile weapons and equipment in Europe sufficient for two US divisions. Mortars, machine guns, trucks and other equipment needed to train and operate the Reserves in the US had to be scrounged from state forces. When the two new regular divisions are formed there will be more robbing of Peter to pay Paul, which will cheat training elsewhere.

The Army has a diminishing prospect of correcting this problem, due to the Pentagon's advance under McNamara toward concentration of power and responsibility in a few civilian hands. Willy nilly the nation is getting what the Congress once warned that it would never approve: "Unification through the back door."

The projected decapitation of Army technical services is a step in this direction. Authority over all armed forces supplies is becoming centralized, this to save dollars. The danger is that there will not be an equal vigilance about saving, producing and stockpiling all the Army needs to accomplish its mission and stay sure of its striking power. When any service yields its own watchdog duties and prerogatives, no one else takes over wholly. As the authority is pushed upwards, accountability down below withers. There ensues a condition in which nothing but the full stress of war upon the system tests its practicality.

Even this limited call-up underscores the inadequacies, though its lessons are blurred. The Army ran short trying to outfit only five divisions. A command and staff failure? To fix blame for the depleted inventories in that quarter is illogical because of both the drain through overseas military aid and the intervention of the single manager system.

When we lament that in peacetime the services too often duplicate procurement, we forget that in war their stores also supplement each other, and this is the safety factor. What one has neglected the other may have prudently conserved and the stuff is there to be used. Many times in Pacific operations and Korea, we were saved by such borrowing. Centralization eliminates that safeguard. When supply is controlled from the top, its coordinators are not subject to challenge and inventorial inspection by the recipient forces.

Some of Mr. McNamara's former associates in the business world, especially those who had long professional experience in military logistics, fear that he is pushing his reforms well past the danger line. Their voice of caution deserves his attention, and the attention of Congress as well. So too the voices which warn against cutting Reserves which have, despite bellyaches, proven their mettle, deserve an audience.

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The Communists in Loyalist Spain

by Daniel M. Friedenberg

In publishing, like romance, much is a matter of the right time and the right atmosphere. *The Grand Camouflage* by Burnett Bolloten, as its subtitle indicates, *The Communist Conspiracy in the Spanish Civil War*, would have been considered a sensation a decade ago when the author first started to project the work. Since then, however, several important books have been written on the same theme, including the two-volume study by David C. Cattell. And most unfortunately for the author, his book has appeared on the heels of *The Spanish Civil War* of Hugh Thomas (*NR*, July 24, 1961).

The Grand Camouflage
by Burnett Bolloten
(Praeger; $6.50)

The thesis of Burnett Bolloten is that the insignificant Communist Party in Spain, by a combination of brilliant maneuvers and the aid of dupes and misguided patriots, ended by dominating the Loyalist government. Starting with the months preceding the revolt of the generals against the Popular Front and terminating with the fall of the Socialist leader Largo Caballero, who had learned to be a bitter enemy of the Communists, we are led along that sinuous path of betrayal and conquest which is now such a common story in the torn world of today.

The Grand Camouflage begins with an analysis of the Popular Front that came to power in 1936. The author shows how the leaders of a substantial body of this coalition were not only against revolutionary change but were indeed of most moderate political opinion: Manuel Azaña, the President of the Spanish Republic; Santiago Casares Quiroga, Premier and War Minister; Diego Martínez Barrio, Speaker of the Cortes and Vice-President; and Indalecio Prieto, leader of the center faction of the Socialist Party.

Mere days after the armed revolt against the government, however, only 500 of the 15,000 army officers remained in the service of the Republic and an immediate shift to the left swelled from below. "The revolution," wrote President Azaña later, "commenced under a Republican government that neither wished to support it nor could support it. The excesses began to unfold themselves before the eyes of the ministers. Faced by the revolution the government had the choice either of upholding it or suppressing it. But even less than uphold it could the government suppress it."

As Bolloten graphically shows, the actual power passed to the mass of the people once the apparatus of army, police and Civil Guard collapsed. In Republican areas, within short months, not only were the factories and large estates confiscated, but the small bourgeosie – down to the tiniest shops – were eliminated and the functions regrouped. Soon the revolution moved to peasant owners, tenant farmers and sharecroppers, on whom the collective farm was imposed on principle: for to anarchists (the majority in most country districts), moral uplift was as important as economic advance and "private property in land always creates a bourgeois mentality, which we wish to uproot for ever," as stated by the anarchist journal *Tierra y Libertad*. Money was abolished in the small villages, coupons for basic articles being substituted – and if one desired more than the absolute necessities, it was evidence of vice and an inclination toward bourgeois thought.

A curious thing then occurred. The Communist Party, which before the revolt of the generals had been an insignificant segment of the left wing grouping, now proclaimed itself the guardian of the small tradesmen and farmers against the excess of anarchists and revolutionary socialists. Championing the interests of these frightened groups – even more so than the center Republicans who had been terrified into silence – they gathered adherents in astounding number. It was only the Communists in the early days of the war who made statements such as "it is everybody's duty to respect the property of the small tradesmen and manufacturers" (*Mundo Obrero* of Madrid) or "we say that the property of the small farmers is sacred and that those who attack or attempt to attack this property must be regarded as enemies of the regime" (*Verdad*).

The reaction was natural. Attracted by the organization and discipline, hoping to save out of the debris of social revolution some measure of private property, the middle class – though with a natural sense of mistrust – flocked to the Communist Party. Although only 40,000 in membership before the Civil War, in mere months 18,000 tradesmen and manufacturers in the province of Catalonia joined a front group while in the land-rich province of Valencia 50,000 farmers entered the Communist-directed Peasant Federation.

This tactic of the Communists, though cynical, fitted logically into their world picture at the time. The great threat was Nazi Germany and Stalin was convinced, with much reason, that French and British interests were determined to push Hitler into conflict with Russia. He had therefore opened the Popular Front era a short time before the Spanish war, attempting to down-pedal Bolshevik aims and allay Western fears. As Hugh Thomas in *The Spanish Civil War* pointed out, Spain was only incidental to Stalin, a testing ground both for ideas and weapons. The official party line was to embrace "bourgeois tactics." Following this aim, the French Communist Party – concerned to maintain its Popular Front led by Léon Blum – went so far as to say: "We speak for the Communist comrades, for the Socialists, and for all fighters for freedom in Spain, when we declare that it is not a ques-

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tion of establishing socialism in Spain. It is simply and solely a question of the defense of the democratic republic by the constitutional government. . . ." (*L'Humanité* of Paris). More Legal than the legalists, more petty bourgeois than the bourgeoisie, the Communist Party soon found itself commanding an admirable segment of middle class Spanish Republican feeling.

One achieved, the next step for the Communists was the absorption or control of the left wing Socialists, a move made easier by the initial gullible attitude of their leader, Largo Caballero. As is no news to students of radical history, the Socialists agreed to fusion in the interests of unity while the Communists advocated the measure only in order to assure domination of the entire left wing. The monolithic discipline of the Stalinists, so contrary to the interminable squabbles of Socialists, and their zeal in the combat of the war, won the respect of the most capable, ambitious and fanatic Spaniards. Fusion soon meant Communist domination and acceptance of control by the Third International – the road was prepared by which the most resolute Spanish patriots unwittingly became tools of Stalin, whose aims were only secondarily victory over Fascism in Spain proper.

The same burrowing procedure was adapted toward the army. But by this time Largo Caballero had been rudely awakened to the reality of fusion and was aware of Stalin's control over Spanish Communists. As head of the War Ministry, he resisted with some degree of success by establishing a working coalition among his loyal left wing Socialists, the anarchists and the Trotskyite movement in Barcelona.

Largo Caballero, who had once been praised by the Communists as the Lenin of Spain, had to be removed before the anti-Franco front could be made a pliant tool of Russian aims. The opportunity presented itself with the disaster at Málaga, the first significant collapse of a Loyalist front. Caballero was held directly responsible – and what Mr. Bolloten fails to bring out fully, he was indeed an obstinate old man who did contribute to the debacle by his many personal failings. The military defeat, followed by others, weakened left wing Socialist confidence in their aging leader. The moderate Socialists were jockeyed into the opposition. The anarchists had been irritated by Caballero's acquiescence in the destruction of their autonomous army and its incorporation into the regular militia. All opposing factions focused their support on Juan Negrín who, supposedly a "moderate," was actually the picked candidate of the Russians. And with the fall of Largo Caballero,, the Communists took over and ran the government from this point to the final Loyalist defeat.

Bolloten's thesis is supported by an admirable blaze of statistics and quotations, often filling more of the pages than the regular text itself. But like all studies attempting to fix order and determinacy on human events, those facts omitted are often as significant as the inclusions.

The main omission is the lack of stress on the tremendous importance of Soviet aid. France, England and the United States refused to sell war material to the Loyalist camp under the doctrine of Non-Intervention, which in reality meant intervention for Franco. Since Russia alone supplied the tanks, airplanes and guns the Republicans so desperately needed, they were beholden to Stalin. As Indalecio Prieto, the moderate Socialist leader, stated: "Russia could not use coercion because of the military forces she sent to Spain. Her ability to do so stemmed from the fact that she was, owing to the attitude of the other Powers, our sole purveyor of war material." When the author does touch this point, he is too sympathetic to the reasoning of French and British conservatives that the important end was to turn Germany against Russia: he forgets that war is a matter of ideas as well as weapons and that the betrayal of constitutional democracy in Spain meant that peoples everywhere would no longer have faith in the Western democracies or the very meaning of democracy itself.

The Grand Camouflage is a fascinating but over-pat study of Communist influence during the Spanish Civil War. Its best lesson might be for the future rather than the past. If the United States deliberately attempts to freeze revolutionary movements into its own image elsewhere, the results might well be similar to the internal upward thrust of the Communists during that hectic war. Communist victory is as much a matter of Western stupidity and blindness as a fantasy image of Red supermen sweeping forward on a wave of the future.

Liebling's Wayward Press

by Christopher Jencks

Albert Camus in his journalistic days once advocated a "control newspaper" which would estimate the percentage of truth in every news story and interpret the probable slant it had been given. Camus proposed to publish this journal every day, an hour after the Paris papers had hit the streets, relying for his analysis primarily on an elaborate card index of newspaper publishers and journalists which tabulated their quirks, prejudices and passions. He abandoned the scheme, however, because he decided that not enough Frenchmen cared about discovering the truth to support it.

The Press
by A. J. Liebling
(Ballantine; paperback; $0.75)

Nobody has attempted to implement Camus' scheme systematically in America either, but both television and the national magazines do make sporadic efforts to appraise press coverage of particular events. A. J. Liebling's contributions to *The New Yorker's* "Wayward Press" department are by far the best of this genre. His new book, which collects his recent pieces and supplements them with substantial introductions, conclusions, and interlinear comments, therefore deserves a more attractive and durable cover, better proofreading, and more publicity, than Ballantine has been able to supply for seventy-five cents.

Liebling's main thesis, only occasionally obscured by his wit, is that newspapers are in business to make money, not to inform the reader. This is not a

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novel idea. Liebling's achievement is to document how often and how seriously the two objectives conflict. He examines in microscopic detail the New York coverage of public relief for the poor (who almost invariably appear in the press as well-off chiselers living at public expense), of price controls (which are depicted as instruments of tyranny and oppression), and of strikes (which are inevitably caused by the stubbornness of labor rather than the stubbornness of management).

The fact that newspaper bias reflects the interests and outlook of the publisher rather than the working journalist has not escaped Liebling's attention. His solution is either to establish a school for newspaper publishers, without which he claims schools of journalism are nearly worthless, or better to abolish publishers altogether. Newspapers, he suggests, ought to be run, or at least some of them ought to be run, as non-profit educational foundations, administered on the same principles as universities.

Such charitable trusts would no doubt have certain advantages. Just as universities hire more classicists than classroom enrollment justifies, newspapers might hire more foreign correspondents than public interest in the outside world justifies. If professional pride replaced personal profit as the main guide to newspaper policy, it is difficult to imagine that metropolitan editors would remain content with wire-service handouts geared to the news sense of the deskman at *The Indiana Farmer* and its equivalents. (Those who live within delivery distance of *The New York Times* may occasionally forget just how bad wire service coverage can be. Liebling points out, for example, that he visited North Africa in 1956 when the Algerian War was raging and Suez brewing, and found that the only wire service coverage of these affairs came from native stringers who, because of their nationality, could not have written the truth even if they had known it.)

But while non-profit newspapers run by journalists might provide more foreign news than today's advertising throwaways, they would not necessarily be more objective. While newspaper editors are Republican four to one, journalists are four to one Democratic. Nor do Liebling's studies show that publishers are the only men responsible for the misinformation and confusion which daily confronts the subway rider and coffee drinker. Publishers did not invent what Liebling calls "the rubber-type army," a supposedly formidable force of Chinese Nationalists whom Harry Truman was universally attacked for chaining up on Formosa while American boys were dying in Korea. Any journalist who had taken the trouble to investigate, or even use his common sense, would have known that the Chinese Nationalists were incapable even of holding Formosa without the help of the American fleet. But for weeks nobody bothered to investigate; they just speculated and vituperated. Neither were publishers' parsimony or prejudice responsible for the newspapers' failure to publicize Governer Fielding Wright's Mississippi Bureau of Investigation, a secret police organization with unprecedented powers established and abolished in 1948 to break a bus strike. The wire services concealed the existence of this organization from readers outside the Deep South not by conspiracy or cowardice, but simply by mechanical incompetence and faulty news sense.

After reading Liebling's reports my own feeling is that it would take more than a big endowment by the Rockefeller or Ford Foundation to bail out the American press. We need not only to get the publishers out of the editorial offices but to get professional journalists who take their responsibilities seriously in. To do this the American Newspaper Guild must become not only a trade union but a professional association, setting standards of performance as well as remuneration for its members. To begin with an elementary point, the Guild might establish a committee to investigate cases of news fabrication, and establish a rule that any Guild member who wrote, or conspired with his editors to print, a story which he had no reason to think true, would be suspended for a substantial period from membership, and hence from employment on Guild newspapers.

The Guild answers such suggestions with the argument that it would jeopardize freedom of the press to penalize reporters for what they write. The high hope voiced in Article 1, section 2, of the Guild Constitution that the Guild shall "guarantee, as far as it is able, constant honesty in the news," and "raise stands of journalism and ethics of the industry," turns out to mean nothing since the Guild feels completely unable to guarantee, or even encourage, anything whatever in this realm.

Prime Time in Edinburgh

by R. W. Flint

The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie
by Muriel Spark
(Lippincott; $3.95)

This is Miss Spark's third novel to attract attention in this country. *Memento Mori* was about old people, *The Bachelors* about what you might expect. Established as one of the best bluestocking wits in the language, she returns here to Edinburgh where she was born and educated and writes a short, tidy, but richly composed and affectionate comic novel in the Joycean manner.

The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie is like a chapter of *Ulysses* cooled to room temperature and condensed into complete, lapidary sentences. The Levels of Meaning are all here, bearing painless witness to Miss Spark's wide reading and sure sense of tone, but the first, and perhaps the last, thing to be said is that she scores solidly throughout on the thoracic, or laughter level. But the novel also shares the Joycean handicap, in its constant time-shifts, of being too static, too *durchkomponiert*, to be taken in at once. Miss Spark has more variety than Compton-Burnett, for example, and a more affectionate wit, certainly a more educated, panoramic mind, but her prose here is also too thoroughly crafted, her view of things too circular, to make its full effect right off. One should go back and see how very good her psycho-

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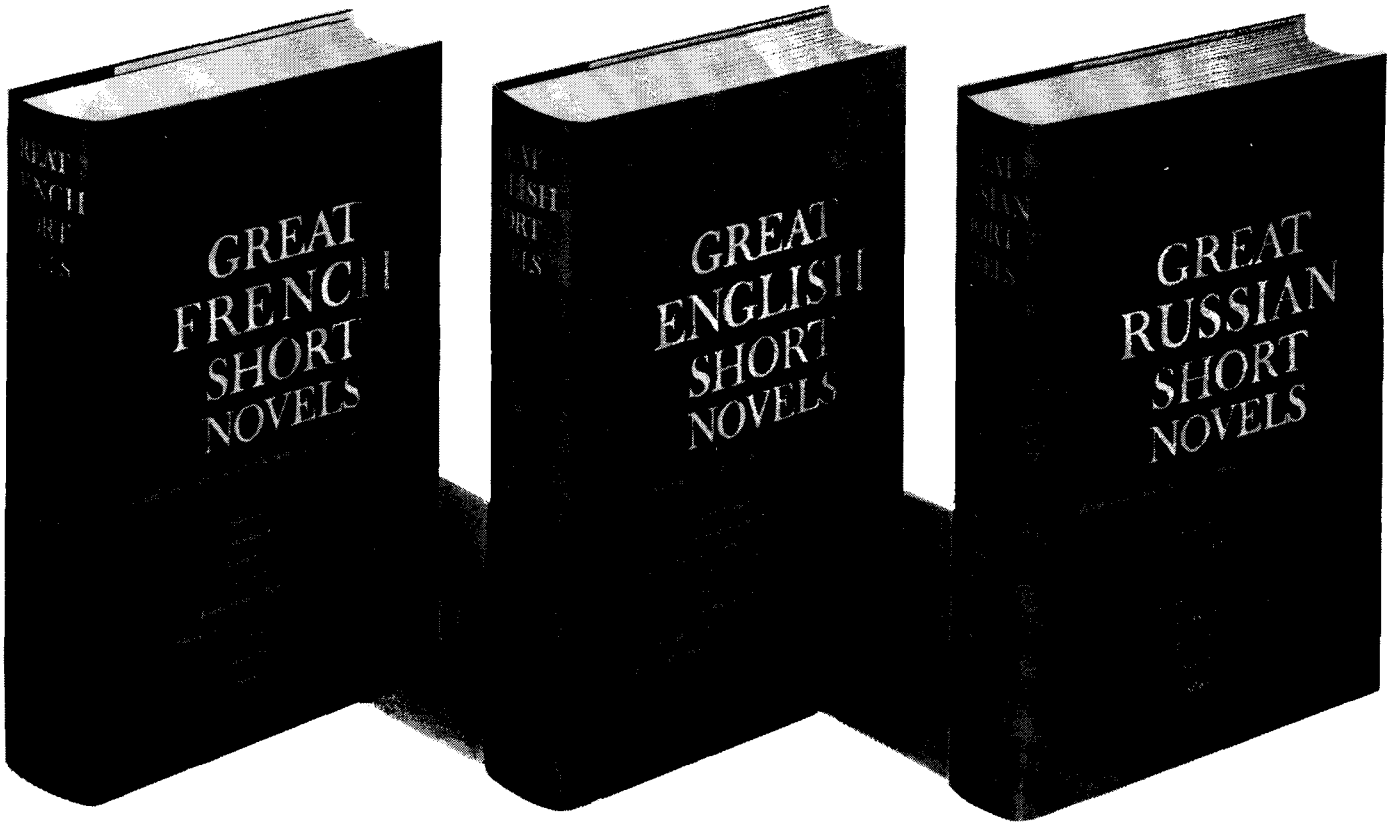

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logical portraiture has been, how her amusing zoo of types is a good deal more than merely that, how every flick of irony tells.

We never really know Miss Brodie: the mystery of her Prime remains inviolable. One's parents have sexual intercourse, her pupils say, but Miss Brodie has her Prime, which wells up like some dark Mediterranean sap in the prim Calvinist school where she teaches and almost breaks it apart. She descends from "Willie Brodie, a man of substance, a cabinet maker and designer of gibbets, a member of the Town Council of Edinburgh and a keeper of two mistresses who bore him five children between them." This, Miss Spark implies in her splendid equality of mind, is as good as any of the dozen or so other plausible *raisons d'être* for Miss Brodie she conscientiously supplies from the social and psychological sciences. The main thing is that, as a temperamental, though not actual, Roman Catholic and an amateur Fascist, Miss Brodie stirs up the natives unbearably.

So, in 1939, she is betrayed as a Fascist to the headmistress by one of her "set," a Sandy Stranger "notorious for her small, almost non-existent eyes, but . . . famous for her vowel sounds . . ." who, on leaving Miss Brodie, becomes a nun celebrated for a psychological tract called *The Transfiguration of the Commonplace*, after having served her time as lover-by-proxy to Miss Brodie's great but forbidden love, the one-armed arts master, in "the Catholic Church in whose ranks she had found quite a number of Fascists much less agreeable than Miss Brodie."

An agreeable Fascist; this is Miss Spark's secular swat at our still-dominant liberal culture. Anthony West would call it subversive, so might one of the *esprits forts* on *Time*. But this would be to ignore the novel's best feature, the author's rare skill in keeping up a double focus between a precocious child's and a very sophisticated adult's point of view, a feat like James's in *What Masie Knew*, a trick that produces such casual bombs as "The Lloyds were Catholic and so were made to have lots of children by force". . . or . . . "In some ways the most real and rooted people whom Sandy knew were Miss Gaunt and the Kerr sisters who made no evasions about their belief that God had planned for practically everybody before they were born a nasty surprise when they died."

Miss Spark has no traffic with pluck, spunk, sturdy pathos, the symphonic blossoming of little sensibilities, or any other of the usual doleful properties of fiction about children. All is as downright as David Hume's nose. Her mind is as Latin as her heroine's profile, and in spite of her slow, solid, sexual, deeply chucklesome comedy at the expense of every cliché that has run through the 20th Century Edinburgh mind, she is herself another cheerful demonstration that her natal city, like Joyce's Dublin, is still a part of everything worthwhile in Europe.

Notes on Contributors

Daniel M. Friedenberg *is a New York man of letters who has written extensively on Mediterranean politics.* R. W. Flint *is a free-lance critic best known for his contributions to the literary quarterlies.*

THEATER

Hipster Dramatists, Square Spectators

The Egg
by Felicien Marceau
(Cort Theater)
Romulus
by Gore Vidal
(The Music Box)

The Broadway theater has this much in common with American society: it is rapidly becoming an operation of hipsters for the bilking of squares. The hipster – if you are still unfamiliar with the term – is a sophisticated careerist who adapts himself to meretricious surroundings for the sake of advancement, concealing his derisive contempt for his customers while prospering on their gullibility, pretentiousness, and bad taste. He is identified, therefore, by the schizoid split that separates his public from his private personality: he wears a mask of charm and sincerity over a face of scorn. In the past, a person with hipster instincts was forced to become a confidence man (the personification, for Melville, of 19th-Century American life). But today, the confidence man has emerged from underground to enter respectable institutions, functioning as an advertising executive, a fallout shelter contractor, a teacher of the Twist.

The smoothest of these legitimized con-men is the cultural hipster. A product of the "cultural explosion" (which may turn out to be the biggest swindle since the South Sea Bubble), this type operates exclusively in the entertainment media, feeding the square's insatiable appetite for debased cultural objects. But though he manipulates the media behind the scenes, you will not often see his face in public. In TV, for example, where cameras can quickly expose the slightest insincerity, hipsters like David Susskind or Rod Serling have not achieved the eminence of squares like Jack Paar, Lawrence Welk, or Ed Sullivan, for while the square spectator is willing to embrace all varieties of mediocrity, he will not tolerate a hint of condescension. On the other hand, wherever the hipster can hide his face – say, in television programming, mass publications, or the Broadway theater – his control is more secure. And as the fakery of our society continues to mount, he will probably take over the culture altogether.

The activities of the con-men have fascinated dramatists from Ben Jonson (*The Alchemist*) to Bertolt Brecht (*The Threepenny Opera*). But until Felicien Marceau's *The Egg* recently opened, nobody had yet bothered to celebrate the progress of the hipster. If you want to know why, consider the reception of the play in New York. Though it enjoyed substantial runs in more sophisticated capitals like Paris and Jerusalem, *The Egg* was greeted here with unanimous hoots from the daily reviewers and expired within a week; official opinion cannot acknowledge the existence of the hipster, even when he

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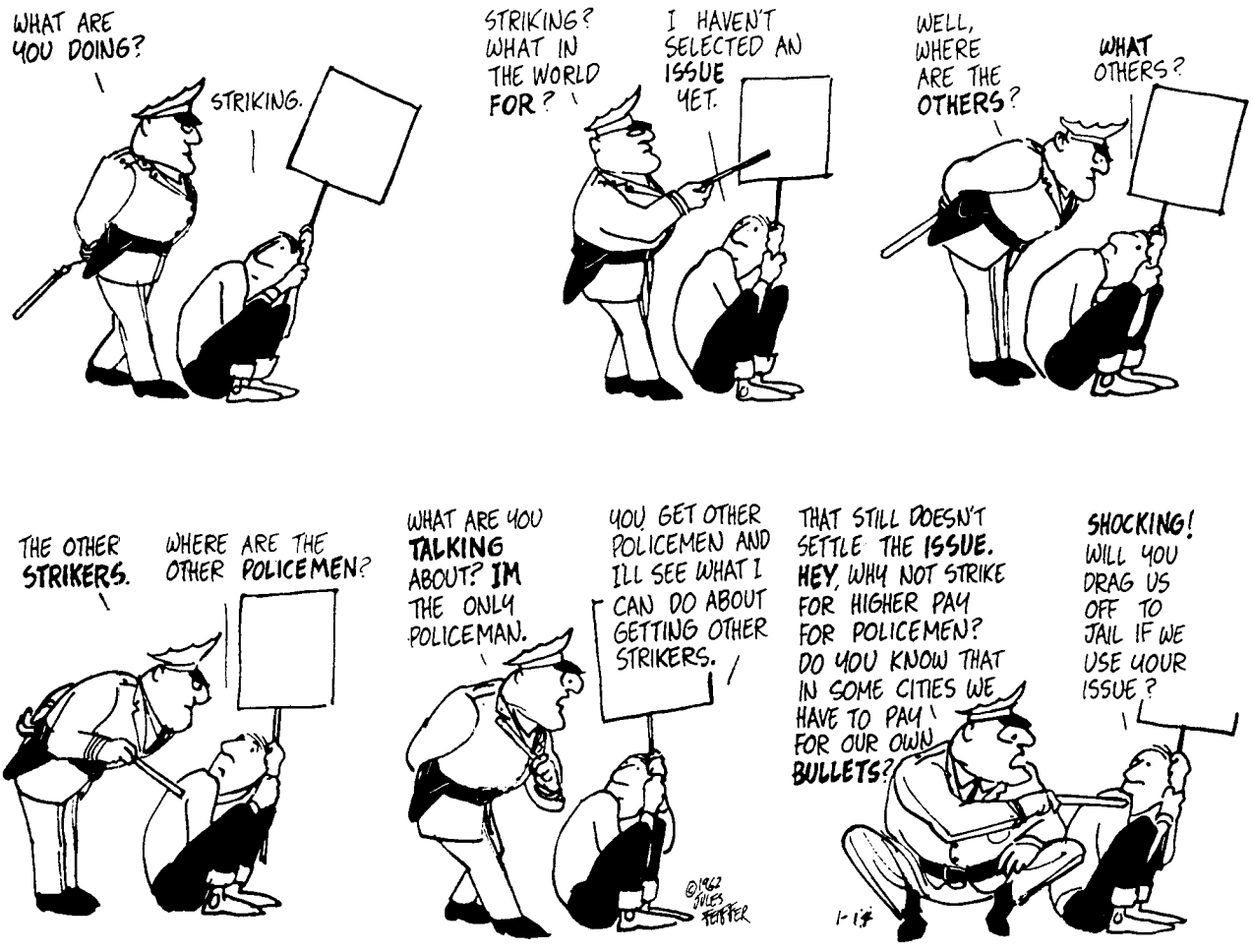
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STRIKING? WHAT IN THE WORLD FOR?
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WHAT ARE YOU TALKING ABOUT? IM THE ONLY POLICEMAN.
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comes from France. With the evidence stored away in a scenery morgue, then, you will have to take my word for it that *The Egg*, except for an abrupt and inconclusive ending, was the most consistently amusing light entertainment of the year. Using a narrative style and vaudeville techniques, Marceau chronicled the picaresque adventures of an ambitious petit bourgeois, determined to make his way against an intransigent system. The image of this system is an egg – it is rotten inside, and in order to pierce its shell, our hero must become just as rotten himself. This he does with an engaging insouciance which grows gradually more ominous as he wends his way through adultery, theft, marriage, blackmail and finally murder (he shoots his wife and successfully pins the rap on her lover). Lacking poetic justice, the play was dismissed as lewd and cynical, probably because it confronted the facts of sex and society without blenching; but compared with such manufactured lubricities as *Shot in the Dark* and *Sunday in New York*, it was a work of unexampled moral idealism.

For once in an import from France, the production did not fail the play. Dick Shawn (a compound of Robert Preston and Eddie Albert that adds up to much more than the sum of its parts) played the *tricheur* with energetic charm and cheerfulness; and Lamont Johnson, directing the action with an unerring eye for illustrative business, generously permitted some imaginative character actors complete freedom in creating a number of hilarious caricatures. The entertainment, in fact, lacked only one element to make it completely delightful – an appreciative audience. For the hipster that might have enjoyed this play has long ceased to attend the commercial theater.

Which does not mean that he has ceased to operate in it. Let me cite, as evidence of the hipster's flourishing influence, the recent adaptation of Duerrenmatt's *Romulus der Grosse* – or GORE VIDAL'S ROMULUS, as the program more shrewdly identifies it. I am certain that Mr. Vidal would have seen the point of *The Egg*, but he is much too clever to make Marceau's mistake: his dramatic writings, while superficially sophisticated, are carefully designed for squares. Confirming in spades his press agent's boast that "Vidal has done it again," he has even managed to make *Romulus* undistinguishable from his other Broadway opiates, transforming Duerrenmatt's tough parable into an effiminate charade enacted by the theatrical smart set.

What Duerrenmatt wrote was a bitter comedy about the last Roman Emperor – an absolute idealist who permits Rome to be conquered by Germanic hordes as a judgment on its evil past. Vidal has preserved the shell of the original while hollowing out the center, adding a confectionery filling sprinkled with witless political jokes, irrelevant anachronisms, and open thefts from Wilde and Shaw ("Thank heaven," says one character; "No, don't thank heaven, dear, thank me," replies Romulus, thus indicating that he has read *Major Barbara*). In a pastel setting out of *House and Garden* – populated with Jeeves butlers, pansy courtiers, and, later, bearded Goths in boots, berets, capes, and Sam Browne belts – one hears references to "un-Roman activities" and "coddling of subversives," "medical plans for the aged," "the struggle for men's minds," etc. as if Vidal had no other function as an adaptor than to recapitulate the inside-dopesterism of *The Best Man*. (With the whole first act devoted to such badinage, the more serious second act seems like a complete change in tone.) As for the characters, these, too, might have walked out of *The Best Man:* the sinister Empress Julia, now endowed with Helena Rubenstein blue hair, has turned into a frivolous Washington hostess, while Romulus has become an effete epigrammatist concerned less with justice than with "style."

About Cyril Ritchard's performance I am of two minds. From the moment he enters the set, scratching his back against a fluted column and winging his lines like Lord Foppington, it is clear that he has been cruelly miscast. But though he destroys Duerrenmatt's Romulus, he almost salvages Vidal's, for he has the art to read the most exhausted witticisms as if they had just been freshly minted. The rest of the cast, however, is not so fortunate; and Joseph Anthony's direction merely compounds the vulgarities of the evening (the casting is particularly insensitive, and to make the Romans into homosexuals is simply in bad taste). *Romulus* is not Duerrenmatt's most stirring work; and it is a little absurd to defend the interests of an author who shows so little interest in defending himself. But in our theater, no artist is safe from the cultural hipster – or, for that matter, from the square spectator, because despite their contrasting natures, both are the natural antagonists of genuine art.

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Kennedy's New Trade Policy

Sirs:

Mr. Edwin Dale's article, "Kennedy's New Trade Policy" (December 18) is deserving of comment. The implied attitude of "so what – we can survive, economically anyhow" if widely adopted, could very well mean our nation's unwillingness to adapt to the changing economic pattern now developing in Western Europe. Great Britain may soon become a member of the Common Market. It seems reasonable to expect other members of the Outer Seven to follow a similar course. This would mean an economically integrated Western Europe which would in the long run achieve a much higher degree of self-sufficiency and economic independency. Then Western Europe would be dedicated to the economic goal of eliminating tariff and quota barriers among themselves while establishing a common tariff wall against outsiders including the United States.

Can the United States afford to take the chance of finding itself greatly alienated from this expanding market by delaying a more liberal tariff procedure and find itself in a much weaker position to negotiate in years to come?

The Common Market countries' Gross National Product since 1950 has been growing at the rate of more than five percent. Our GNP has been less than three percent. Their rate of increase in industrial production has averaged more than seven percent – ours has been three percent. The Twentieth Century Fund study, *Europe's Needs and Implications* presents some important and vital statistics on Western Europe. This study estimated that Western Europe's Gross National Product is expected to rise to $342 billion by 1970 up 54.8 percent from the 1955 base year of $221 billion. Consumer spending in Western Europe is expected to rise faster than their GNP. Overall consumer expenditures will rise to $230 billion, up 59 percent from 1955's $145 billion.

Perhaps Mr. Dale is correct in asserting that from an averaging viewpoint the Common Market Tariff is "scarcely a new barrier to American exports." But what happens when the Common Market gains greater momentum, strength and cohesiveness and eliminates member tariffs, but not tariffs to outsiders? Wouldn't this place American industry producing domestically in an unfavorable position?

SP4 Peter G. Bougades
Fort Eustis, Virginia

Senator Dodd and Katanga

Sirs:

I share your quarrel with Senator Dodd's ambiguous relation to Katanga. This is not the first time that Mr. Dodd's separate capacities have become confused. In 1956 the House Foreign Affairs Committee, of which he was a member, raised the military assistance appropriation for Guatemala from $5 million to $10 million. On the floor of the House (June 6 and 7, 1956) Representative Dodd managed to raise this to $15 million. The following November he was defeated for the Senate by Republican Prescott Bush. For the following two years, during which Mr. Dodd did not represent the people of Connecticut, he was still able to represent the interests of Guatemala: Appendix VI to the Report of the Attorney General on the Administration of Foreign Agents Registration Act, in June, 1960, lists Thomas J. Dodd as receiving $24,999.96 in 1957 and $41,666.62 in 1958 from the Republic of Guatemala. Mr. Dodd ran successfully for the Senate in 1958.

Katharine Welsh
New Haven, Conn.

Man of Principle

Sirs:

Impertinax's "He Was a Man of Principle" (December 25) was not too far-fetched – certainly not in the selection of a Walker Cabinet. However, the inclusion of Gen. Douglas MacArthur as Secretary of State was unkind. I think MacArthur has more than once expressed his distaste for the lunatic Right and to associate him with this seedy crowd is to be unaware of the General's position. But, surely, the right man for this post in a Walker regime shouldn't be hard to fill. Rep. Francis Walter would be a gem, as would be Senator Dodd.

David Ormont
Los Angeles, Calif.

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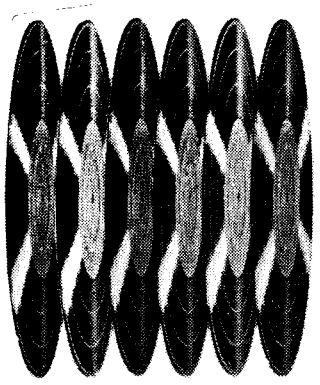

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